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### THE CLITUMNUS

"Have you ever seen the source of the Clitumnus?" is the question with which Pliny the Younger begins a letter (*Ep.* 8.8) to his friend Voconius Romanus. Pliny<sup>1</sup> reproaches himself for not having seen this place before, urges his friend to go there as soon as possible, and then describes the river, its source, and the valley through which it flows.

The Clitumnus, a small river<sup>2</sup> in Umbria, rises from some limestone rocks which lie half way between Fulginia (Foligno) and Spolegium (Spoleto). It moves along for some nine miles through an unusually beautiful and picturesque valley to Mevania (Bevagna) where it joins the Tinaia, a tributary of the Tiber. Visitors and travelers have always been attracted to this river and poets from Vergil to Carducci have never failed to find inspiration in it. Various Romans have written about it but none has succeeded so well as Pliny the

Younger, whose description both of the river and more particularly of its source has become fully as famous as the natural wonder which it describes.

The Clitumnus,<sup>3</sup> Pliny tells us in his description, has its source in springs which pour forth from several crevices (*venae*) in the Apennine limestone. The volume of flow is such that by its very mass it forms a pool or basin, and immediately becomes a navigable stream capable of bearing two laden boats abreast. The pool itself lies at the bottom of a hill and is shaded by cypresses; its water is described as being as cold as snow and so clear that pebbles and coins tossed therein could be seen lying on the bottom. The river, mirroring on its surface the poplar and ash trees which lined the banks, meandered through the pleasant countryside. An inn and bath were maintained by the inhabitants of Hispellum (Spello) for the convenience and comfort of such persons as came there to see the natural beauty and to consult the oracle of the river-god,<sup>4</sup> whose

<sup>1</sup> For his interest in other scenic wonders, cf. *Ep.* 4.30, where he describes a spring which was affected in its flow like the ocean; and *Ep.* 8.20, where he gives an account of the floating islands of Lake Vadimon.

<sup>2</sup> Isidore (*Orig.* 13.13.6), Julius Philargyrius (*in Verg. Georg.* 2.146), and *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* (V 180.8-9) refer to the Clitumnus as *lacus*, probably best understood as referring to the *lato gremio* of Pliny's description. Cf. H. Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde* (Berlin 1883-1902) I 310; II 401-403; *idem*, "Drei unbekannte Seen in Umbrien," *RhM* 20 (1885) 222-224; F. A. Paley, *Ser. Aurelii Propertii Carmina* (London

1872) 222, note *ad Prop.* 5.1.124 (= 4.1.124). For a different interpretation, cf. H. E. Butler and E. A. Barber, *The Elegies of Propertius* (Oxford 1933) 331, note *ad Prop.* 4.1.123-126; and H. E. Butler, "Propertius iv. 1. 27," *CR* 22 (1908) 245.

<sup>3</sup> The word "Clitumnus," having as its root *CLI-* "to lean, to lean on, to bend," seems to mean a "river flowing down hill." Cf. W. Corssen, *Aussprache, Vokalismus u. Betonung der lateinische Sprache* (Leipzig 1868-70) I 536; II 174.

<sup>4</sup> According to Vibius Sequester (*De fluminibus fontibus lacubus*, etc. [F. A. Riese (ed.), *Geographi Latini Minores* (Heilbronn 1878), p. 148, 11] the river-god bore the name of Jupiter Clitumnus. He was not portrayed in the usual form of

temple stood close and in whose honor the local population celebrated festivals which seem to have been called the Clitumnalia.<sup>5</sup>

No less than six Roman poets refer to the Clitumnus, but to five of them its chief fame and attraction seem to have been the large and much prized white cattle which grazed along its banks and drank of its water. It was believed, moreover, that this water possessed a particular quality, because cattle which drank it were always white.<sup>6</sup> We find the first reference in Vergil's *Georgics* (2.146-148), where the poet, in his panegyric on Italy, includes among the glories of his beloved country these white cattle which were bred in the valley of the Clitumnus and were in great demand at Rome for sacrifices:

Hinc albi, Clitumne, greges, et maxima taurus  
Victima, saepe tuo perfusi flumine sacro  
Romanos ad templa deum duxere triumphos

"From Italy, O Clitumnus, come the white flocks and the bull, the noblest victim, which have often bathed in your sacred stream and led the Roman triumphal processions to the temples of the gods."

The other poets repeat the theme voiced by Vergil. Thus, in Silius Italicus (*Pun.* 4.545-546; 8.450-451; cf. 6.645-648) we read of the Clitumnus bathing in its sacred, cold stream the white bulls which are destined for Jupiter's altars. Both Statius (*Silv.* 1.4.128-130) and Claudian (*Car. Min.* 54.4-5) continue in the same strain, but it is Juvenal who best epitomizes it all (12.11-14):<sup>7</sup>

A bull high fed should fall the sacrifice,  
One of Hispulla's huge prodigious size:  
Not one of those our neighboring pastures feed,  
But of Clitumnus whitest sacred breed:  
The lively tincture of whose gushing blood  
Should clearly prove the richness of his food;  
A neck so strong, so large, as would demand  
The speeding blow of some, uncommon hand.

river-deities, but in the figure of Jupiter and was clothed in a praetexta. Cf. Roscher, *Ausf. Lexikon d. gr. u. röm. Myth.* I, col. 912 (Wissowa); G. Wissowa, *Religion u. Kultus d. Römer* (2d ed.; Munich 1912) 224; E. Galli, "Clitumnus," *Studi Etruschi* 15 (1941) 9-26.

<sup>5</sup> A. F. Gori, *Museum Etruscum* (Florentiae 1737) II 66, 307.

<sup>6</sup> In addition to the references in the six poets, the Clitumnus is cited—and always with the mention of the cattle—in the following: Servius in *Verg. Georg.* 2.146; *Brevis Expositio in Verg. Georg.* 2.146; Isidore *Orig.* 13.13.6; *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* V 180. 8-9. Cf. also Columella 3.8.3; and G. Boccaccio, *De Montibus Silvis Fontibus Lacubus Stagnis*, etc. (Venetis 1473) s. v. "Clitumnus."

<sup>7</sup> The translation of Thomas Power in J. Dryden, *The Satires of Decimus Junius Juvenalis* (London 1697) 306. This translation is quoted by J. Addison (*Remarks on Several Parts*, etc. [London 1705] 152-153) but he credits it to Mr. Congreve. A variant in this translation is to be noted: in line 7 Addison reads "command"; Thomas Power reads "demand."

<sup>8</sup> Cf. 3.22.23-24, where Propertius includes the river among some of the sights which contribute to Italy's superiority to the East. Cf. also Sir Archibald Geike, *The Love of Nature Among the Romans* (London 1912) 96, 262.

One of the six poets, however, did perceive in the Clitumnus something besides the white cattle, and it is not surprising at all that the poet to do so was Propertius, who was a native of Umbria and whose birthplace was in nearby Asisium (Assisi). His Cynthia had gone to the country, where she was alone amid rustic scenes, and so he writes that he will join her in a few days, after he has had a little relaxation in the form of trapping rabbits and shooting birds along the Clitumnus, which he describes (2.19.25-26) as hiding its beautiful stream in its own woods, a phrase to be understood, most certainly, as referring both to the grove at the river's source and to the trees along its banks.<sup>8</sup>

When Pliny the Younger visited the river, it was already a well-known resort and even as early as Augustus' time it had become so frequented by visitors that the hotel and bath concessions located near the source of the river were given to the inhabitants of Hispellum by Augustus himself, probably to guarantee that visitors would be well provided for during their stay

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(*Ep.* 8.8.6). It would appear that everybody visited the scene sooner or later, a fact suggested by Pliny (8.8.1), yet we know of only three other Romans whose visits to the Clitumnus are recorded. The first of these is the Emperor Caligula, who stopped there early in September of the year 39 while on his way to Gaul and Germany for military campaigns (Suet. *Cal.* 43), but his purpose in going to the Clitumnus is no less obscure than his campaigns which have either been passed over in silence or else subjected to ridicule by the ancient authors. However, one possible answer has been suggested by Baldson,<sup>9</sup> who, in reconstructing the events culminating in the campaigns in Gaul and Germany, states that during preparations for the expedition Caligula had unexpectedly learned of a plot for his own assassination in the camp of Gaetulicus, the commander of the army of Upper Germany; that the emperor, therefore, set out for Gaul in great haste in order to reach Gaetulicus' camp before the would-be assassin would normally expect his arrival; and that he probably advertised the fact that he was going to stop and consult the *sortes* of the Clitumnus merely to deceive his enemies even further concerning his real plans and to allay as much as possible all and any suspicion. The inference, then, is that Caligula did not actually on this occasion visit the Clitumnus!

The second person whose visit is recorded is the Emperor Honorius. Most of the time this emperor who ruled only in the West (395-423) lived at Ravenna, but in 404 which was the year of his sixth consulship, he spent the latter months in Rome. On his way thither from Ravenna he visited the Clitumnus and its beauty was not lost to him if we are to believe Claudian (*VI. Cons. Hon.* 506-514).

The last visitor is the poet from Lugdunum (Lyons) in Gaul, C. Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius (c. 430-480). In the year 467 he travelled from his native city to Rome as ambassador from the city of Arverni to Anthemius, who had just been named emperor of the West by the Eastern Emperor Leo, and in whose honor Sidonius was to compose a panegyric. After arriving at Rome, he wrote to his friend Heronius about his trip, and from this letter (*Ep.* 1.5.8.) we gather that, while the poet was traveling south through Umbria, he was most uncomfortable, having contracted fever and thirst from the heat, and that to alleviate his great distress he conjured up in his mind not only springs and wells but also the streams which lay along or near his route, namely the ice-cold Clitumnus, the dark blue Anio, the Nar tasting of sulphur, the clear Fabaris, and the muddy Tiber. Sidonius fails to tell whether he tarried at the Clitumnus or other streams but he does state that fear prevented him from assuaging his thirst, and therefore one may assume that he did no more than view the

scenery in passing, anxious as he was to reach Rome as soon as possible.

The transition from the pagan to the Christian world left its mark upon the Clitumnus. Visitors no longer came to consult the *sortes* of the god Clitumnus, and by the end of the fourth century his little temple which was built of white marble in the Corinthian order had already been converted into a Christian Church dedicated to the Savior (Salvatori). In the year 446/447 great seismic disturbances shook the whole Mediterranean world;<sup>10</sup> as a result the source of the Clitumnus became dry and, although its flow was later resumed,<sup>11</sup> the amount of water in the river thereafter was appreciably less. It is in this same period that Christian inscriptions were cut on the friezes in the front and on the two sides of the little Church.<sup>12</sup> After the water had resumed its flow, the catastrophe of the year 446/447 was gradually forgotten and the river again meandered through the delightful and pleasant plain, and the famous white cattle again grazed along its banks and drank of its water, but now they were being bred for the service of man rather than for sacrifice to Jupiter.

The topography of the Clitumnus valley has remained virtually the way it was in Pliny's day. Even the old names and traditions harking back to classical times are still associated with it. As a result, there has never been any difficulty in identifying the place and visitors have never ceased to compare what they have seen with Pliny's lively and accurate description, which has become an indispensable Baedeker for this area. The seventeenth century classical geographer, Philip Cluver, in describing the river, remarks, for instance, that its source was still called "Le Vene" (cf. Pliny's *venae*) and that the inn was known as "La Posta alle Vene." Only the grove which had shaded the source, he continues, had disappeared; everything else was as Pliny had described it.<sup>13</sup> In this same century François Maximilien Misson traveled to Italy and in his guide book, in which he wrote the usual observations about the Clitumnus, he shows how one of the old traditions of the place was still alive. It seems that a native, well tutored in local lore, had alleged the little Church of the Savior to be the actual temple of Jupiter Clitumnus but Misson proceeds to refute this by pointing out that the building in question was cruciform and faced east, and that there were crosses in various places and Christian inscriptions on the friezes. He concludes, therefore, that the church

<sup>9</sup> J. P. V. D. Baldson, *The Emperor Gaius (Caligula)* (Oxford 1934) 73.

<sup>10</sup> Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon* a. C. 447, xv.1 (in T. Mommsen [ed.], *Chronica Minora Saec. IV. V. VI. VII.* II 82 [=MGH, Auct. Ant. XI; Berlin 1894]); Nicephorus *Hist. Eccles.* xiv.46.927-928.

<sup>11</sup> R. Venuti, *Osservazioni sopra il fiume Clitumno* (Roma 1753) 26.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* 28.

<sup>13</sup> Philippus Cluverius, *Italia Antiqua* (Guelferbyti 1659) Bk. II, Chapter X, pp. 422-423.

which he saw had been erected on the site of the old temple and with materials from it.<sup>14</sup>

It is in the eighteenth century that interest in the Clitumnus increases. Literary personages now record their impressions of the scene and most of them evince a knowledge of the pertinent quotations in the Latin authors. The impressions gained varied greatly with individuals—*quot homines, tot sententiae*. For example, Joseph Addison, who upon his return from the Grand Tour had published an account of his travels which is full of reminiscences of Roman poets, followed the tradition of the ancient poets and showed interest only in the white cattle which he had seen grazing in great numbers about the countryside. Knowing, of course, what the ancients had thought the reason was for the cattle being white, he soon learned upon inquiry that the natives were still of the same opinion, an opinion which he ridiculed, suggesting that the first breed in the land had been white and that the present animals were merely continuing the same species.<sup>15</sup> But in the person of Ridolfino Venuti the Clitumnus found a real champion, for he wrote what is probably the first monograph on the river.<sup>16</sup> Naturally he refers to the large white cattle but he also writes about the delicious trout and other fish to be seen in the stream and mentions the grist mills located up and down the river.<sup>17</sup> In addition to a documented history of the river, he discusses at length the history of the little temple of Jupiter Clitumnus and outlines the depredations perpetrated in turn by Brother Hilarion and Brother Paul to whom the care of the temple had been entrusted. Pope Clement XII issued an order to prevent spoliation, but this injunction was scorned by the Bishop of Spoleto. An exhortation was addressed by the Abbot of Cortona to Pope Benedict XIV, beseeching him to recover the columns and other parts stolen from the building and to replace them, but this Pope for some reason failed to listen to the good Abbot and the temple was never repaired.<sup>18</sup> After commenting on this pillage John Hobhouse concluded: "Indeed the spoilers were guilty not only of a crime against the antiquary, but of sacrilege. Clitumnus could not be expected to deter brother Hilarion and brother Paul, but the name of the Saviour might."<sup>19</sup> Another literary figure to visit the river during this century was Tobias Smollett. His account

of his trip through the valley does not contain the classical quotations with which Addison's account is interlarded—he was probably fully cognizant of them—but it does reveal that Smollett observed the beauty of the countryside, for in a letter from Nice (No. XXXIV, April 2, 1765) he writes:<sup>20</sup>

We passed through part of Spoleto, the capital of Umbria. . . . The road from hence to Foligno, where we lay, is kept in good order, and lies through a delightful plain, laid out into beautiful enclosures, abounding with wine, oil, corn, and cattle, and watered by the pastoral streams of the famous river Clitumnus, which takes it rise in three or four separate rivulets issuing from a rock near the highway.

Some years later John Moore wrote an account of his travels but he clings to the old tradition and seems content to confine his observations to the milk-white cattle. In fact he simply repeats Addison's account, going so far as to mention him by name, and deviates from it only to the extent of remarking that although a few of the cattle were milk-white, the greatest number were whitish-gray!<sup>21</sup> Traveling in Italy at this time also was none other than Goethe. In October of the year 1786, he was making his way south from Venice to Rome and by the end of the month he was passing through Foligno and Spoleto, but there is no evidence from his writings that he was detained in the least by the Clitumnus. Goethe was a *Romani quaero* pilgrim.<sup>22</sup>

In the nineteenth century interest in the Clitumnus reached its height. Not only did travelers now write about it with a deeper appreciation of its natural beauty but even poets, succumbing to its charm, paid tribute to it in their verse. Early in the century Rev. John Chetwode Eustace visited the scene and, after comparing what he saw with the references in the Roman poets and more especially with Pliny's description, he was able to present an unusually fine picture of whole area. The place where the river has its source, he writes, was still called "Le Vene" and the inn, i.e. post-house, was still there, but the cypresses which had shaded the source had disappeared, as had the trees which used to line the banks of the stream. Industrious peasants had replaced the purely ornamental with the less beautiful but more productive vine, mulberry, and olive. The famous white cattle were still to be seen, though in small number, for the rich soil of the Clitumnus valley was now being used for the cultivation of wheat and olives.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>14</sup> F. M. Misson, *A New Voyage to Italy* (4th ed.; London 1714) I 355-358.

<sup>15</sup> J. Addison, *Remarks on Several Parts*, etc. (London 1705) 150-151.

<sup>16</sup> R. Venuti, *op. cit.*

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 17.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* 58-71.

<sup>19</sup> John Hobhouse, *Historical Illustrations of The Fourth Canto of Childe Harold* (New York 1818) 33. Hobhouse gives (pp. 31-33) much information on the river, the god, and the temple and quotes his sources with great care. His information is based very largely on Venuti's monograph.

<sup>20</sup> Tobias Smollett, *Travels Through France and Italy* [in *The Miscellaneous Works of Tobias Smollett, M.D. with Memoirs of His Life and Writings* (Edinburgh 1800) VI 497-498].

<sup>21</sup> *The Works of John Moore, M.D.* (Edinburgh 1820) II 155-156.

<sup>22</sup> Camillo von Klenze, *The Interpretation of Italy during the Last Two Centuries* (Chicago 1907) 67.

<sup>23</sup> Rev. John Chetwode Eustace, *A Classical Tour Through Italy An. MDCCCII* (London 1815) I 318-322. For other similar accounts cf. Rev. J. A. Cramer, M. A., *A Geographical*

In the year 1816 the poet Byron left England to spend in voluntary exile the remaining years of his life—eight in all—and these were spent almost entirely in Italy. There is reason to think that he knew of the Clitumnus, its tradition, and its fame and, when in late May of the year 1817 he stopped there on his return from Rome to Venice, it seems that he deliberately sought out the place. For in a letter recounting this first visit to Rome he writes to his friend John Murray that he "got some famous trout out of the river Clitumnus—the prettiest little stream in all poesy, near the first post from Foligno to Spoleto."<sup>24</sup> Further evidence may be deduced from a note on stanza LXVI of Canto IV of *Childe Harold*, where the poet writes: "No book of travels has omitted to expatiate on the temple of the Clitumnus between Foligno and Spoleto; and no site, or scenery, even in Italy, is more worthy a description."<sup>25</sup> No poet, ancient or modern, has captured more completely than Byron the beauty of the Clitumnus and its hallowed scene as they are embodied in stanzas LXVI-LXVIII of Canto IV of *Childe Harold*, where this natural wonder, just as all the scenery which that poet saw both on his way to Italy and in Italy itself, has received for all time its poetic dress:<sup>26</sup>

But thou, Clitumnus! in thy sweetest wave  
Of the most living crystal that was e'er  
The haunt of river nymph, to gaze and lave  
Her limbs where nothing hid them, thou dost rear  
The grassy banks whereon the milk-white steer  
Grazes,—the purest god of gentle waters!  
And most serene of aspect, and most clear;  
Surely that stream unprofaned by slaughters—  
A mirror and a bath for Beauty's youngest daughters!  
And on thy happy shore a Temple still,  
Of small and delicate proportion, keeps  
Upon a mild declivity of bill,  
Its memory of thee; beneath it sweeps  
Thy current's calmness; oft from out it leaps  
The finny darter with the glittering scales,  
Who dwells and revels in thy glassy deeps;  
While, chance, some scatter'd water-lily sails  
Down where the shallower wave still tells its bubbling tales.  
Pass not unblest the Genius of the place!  
If through the air a zephyr more serene  
Win to the brow, 'tis his; and if ye trace  
Along his margin a more eloquent green,  
If on the heart the freshness of the scene  
Sprinkle its coolness, and from the dry dust  
Of weary life a moment lave it clean  
With Nature's baptism,—'tis to him ye must  
Pay orisons for this suspension of disgust.

and *Historical Description of Ancient History* (Oxford 1826) I 270-271. Cramer was acquainted not only with the usual references to the Latin poets but also with Cluverius (see footnote 13) and Venuti (see footnote 11). See also Joseph Forsyth, *Remarks on the Antiquities, Arts and Letters during an Excursion in Italy in the Years 1802 and 1803* (Boston 1818) 298-299.

<sup>24</sup> A. M. McMahon, *With Byron in Italy* (London 1907) 49.  
<sup>25</sup> Lord Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage: Canto the Fourth* (London 1818) 183.

<sup>26</sup> S. C. Chew (ed.), *Lord Byron: Childe Harold's Pilgrimage and other Romantic Poems* (Garden City, N. Y. 1936), lines 886-913.

Another poet living as an exile in Italy at this time was Shelley. In the middle of November of the year 1818 both he and Mary Shelley were on their way to Rome and in the course of the journey had arrived by November 16 at Foligno where they spent the night. The next day was spent in traveling from Foligno to Spoleto. In her *Journal*, under the date of November 17, Mary Shelley writes as follows: "Sleep at Spoleto, where we visit a magnificent aqueduct, built, they say, by the Romans, and repaired by the Goths; it is thrown across a deep narrow valley. Pass by the Clitumnus and its Temple."<sup>27</sup> It is difficult, however, to imagine how Shelley, whose interest in the ancient classics is well attested,<sup>28</sup> could have been influenced either by this visit or any subsequent one to make the kind of reference which is found in his burlesque drama, *Oedipus, or Swellfoot the Tyrant*, where he writes:<sup>29</sup>

Why it is hinted, that a certain Bull—  
Thus much is known.—the milk-white Bulls that feed  
Beside Clitumnus and the crystal lakes  
Of the Cisalpine mountains, in fresh dew  
Of lotus-grass and blossoming asphodel  
Sleeking their silken hair, and with sweet breath  
Loading the mourning winds until they faint  
With living fragrance, are so beautiful!—

When Shelley wrote of "the milk-white Bulls that feed/Beside Clitumnus," he was, of course, just repeating the theme first sung by Vergil and later by other Latin poets. It is heard also in Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*<sup>30</sup> and in Wordsworth's *The Prelude*. In *The Prelude*, which was to be his longest poem and which he had composed when still in his twenties, Wordsworth refers to the river in a passage which is reminiscent of classical bucolic verse and evidences the poet's love and intimate knowledge of the Latin poets, especially Vergil and Horace:<sup>31</sup>

Smooth life had Flock and Shepherd in old time,  
Long springs and tepid Winters on the Banks  
Of delicate Galesus; and no less  
Those scatter'd along Adria's myrtle Shores:  
Smooth life the herdsman and his snow-white Herd  
To Triumphs and to sacrificial Rites  
Devoted, on the inviolable Stream  
Of rich Clitumnus; and the Goat-herd liv'd  
As sweetly, underneath the pleasant brows  
Of cool Lucretius, where the Pipe was heard  
Of Pan, the invisible God, thrilling the rocks  
With tutelary music, from all harm  
The Fold protecting.

<sup>27</sup> F. L. Jones (ed.), *Mary Shelley's Journal* (Norman, Oklahoma 1947) 110.

<sup>28</sup> For the influence of the ancient classics on the poetry of Shelley cf. E. E. Burris, "The Classical Culture of Percy Bysshe Shelley," *CJ* 21 (1925-26) 344-354.

<sup>29</sup> C. D. Locock (ed.), *The Poems of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (London 1911) I 525.

<sup>30</sup> In the poem "Horatius," stanza 6, lines 5-6: "Beyond all streams Clitumnus / Is to the herdsman dear"; and stanza 7, lines 5-6: "Unwatched along Clitumnus / Grazes the milk-white steer."

<sup>31</sup> Ernest De Selincourt (ed.), *The Prelude or Growth of a*

Visitors continued to come to this river and most of them seemed to be pleased with what the scene offered.<sup>32</sup> The one person who appears to have been greatly disappointed with the Clitumnus is Mrs. Frances Trollope, mother of the novelist. Her account of a visit on November 4 in the year 1841 is distinctive with its brisk and lively comment. Observing that the river was absolutely dry in spite of abundant rainfall she continues.<sup>33</sup>

How long all the rivers which I have seen in Italy dry, or nearly so, have been in that condition I know not; but if their drainage has been advancing rapidly, I should think that we might be likely to hear of more earthquakes. This dry Clitumnus was navigable from its mouth to a point not far distant from its source in the time of the Romans; but if the world last long enough, its name may become that of a ridge of mountains. . . . Perhaps by the time the United States are grown into a prosperous monarchy, which shall rival the Russias, her Mississippi may rival the Alleganias.

Among Americans who visited here during the nineteenth century were Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Hawthorne. Arriving at Spoleto in late May of the year 1858, they had obviously anticipated their visit, for both write at length about the Clitumnus in their notebooks. Mr. Hawthorne regretted that the overcast skies had prevented him from viewing under the best of auspices the valley of the Clitumnus, which seemed to him to be more of a boundless plain than a secluded valley, and one which he felt disinclined to celebrate either in prose or verse. Doubtlessly he expected this classic valley to resemble those of his native New England! He was, on the other hand, very much taken with the beauty of the river, particularly at its source, where the water "was still as pure as a child's heart, and as transparent as truth itself."<sup>34</sup>

Another English poet to make reference to the Clitumnus is Robert Browning. In his poem *Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau*, written in the year 1871, we read:<sup>35</sup>

'How plain I view  
Across those misty years 'twixt me and Rome'—  
(Such the Man's answer to Sagacity) . . .  
'The little wayside temple, halfway down  
To a mild river that makes oxen white  
Miraculously, un-mouse-colored skin,  
Or so the Roman country people dream!  
I view that sweet small shrub-embedded shrine  
On the declivity, was sacred once  
To a transmitting Genius of the land,

*Poet's Mind* (London 1933), Book VIII, lines 311-323 [173-185]. Cf. also De Selincourt, *ad hoc loc.* pp. 287-288.

<sup>32</sup> For example, Lady Morgan, *Italy* (New York 1821) II 99-100; Countess of Blessington, *The Idler in Italy* (London 1840) III 7.

<sup>33</sup> Mrs. Frances Trollope, *A Visit to Italy* (London 1842) II 171-172.

<sup>34</sup> Nathaniel Hawthorne, *Passages from the French and Italian Note-Books* (Boston 1873) I 251. For Mrs. Hawthorne's account, cf. Mrs. Nathaniel Hawthorne, *Notes in England and Italy* (New York 1875) 306.

<sup>35</sup> *The Complete Poetic and Dramatic Works of Robert Browning* (Cambridge Edition; Boston and New York 1895), p. 699.

Could touch and turn its dunnest natures bright,  
—Since Italy means the Land of the Ox, we know,  
Well, how was it the due succession fell  
From priest to priest who ministered i' the cool  
Calm fane o' the Clitumnian god? . . .

It is the same little temple and the same traditional lore which Browning has incorporated into these verses but he has erred badly in associating with this temple of Clitumnus those rites which belong to that of Lake Nemi, an error which the poet later acknowledged.<sup>36</sup>

It is the Italian Vergil who first sang of the Clitumnus and it is a modern Italian who also found in this river inspiration for verse. Although almost two millennia separate Virgil and his fellow countryman Giosuè Carducci, Nobel prize winner in 1906, the latter is no less an intensely patriotic poet and lover of the Italian landscape. In his poem *Alle fonti del Clitumno*, Carducci writes in part:<sup>37</sup>

From the mountains crowned with sombre beeches,  
murmuring as they sway in the wind, from the mountains whence the breeze carries the odour of the sage and the wild thyme, so far the flocks still come down to thee in the damp evenings, O Clitumnus; the young Umbrian still bathes his gentle sheep in thy waves. . . .

Hail, O green Umbria! And thou, O divinity of the limpid spring, O Clitumnus! I feel the spirit of the ancient *patria* thrilling in my heart, and the gods of Italy looking down upon my fevered brow.

The Clitumnus is still sought out by visitors and it continues to captivate them with its idyllic beauty which remains as fresh as it was when Pliny the Younger visited it. And the visitors today, no less than those of the past, still record their impressions, the camera capturing for them the beauty and serenity of a charming pool in which weeping willows and poplars are reflected, a crystal-clear stream which meanders through rich meadows, and a small temple which was once the abode of Jupiter Clitumnus.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* 1021.

<sup>37</sup> *Poesie di Giosuè Carducci* (3rd ed.; Bologna 1904) 801-802. The translation of stanzas 1, 2, and 7 is taken from André Maurel, *Little Cities of Italy* (trans. Helen Gerard; New York and London 1911-13) II 366.

<sup>38</sup> For example, Dan Fellows Platt, *Through Italy with Car and Camera* (New York and London 1908) 371, where there is an excellent photograph of the river's source. Also K. P. Harrington and K. Scott (eds.), *Selections from Latin Prose and Poetry* (Boston and New York 1933) 414.

#### A CHECKLIST OF CLASSICAL BOOKS OF 1952

As announced earlier, *CW* will publish shortly a checklist of several hundred classical books which appeared during the year 1952, as reported in various bibliographical sources. The list will be distributed gratis to our regular subscribers; extra copies may be obtained at the price of thirty cents each, prepaid.

# THE SOUNDS OF OLD FRENCH IN THE STUDY OF ENGLISH DERIVATIVES FROM LATIN<sup>1</sup>

Several recent articles have shown the value of referring to comparative grammar and the history of the Latin language and of drawing on other Indo-European languages in our teaching of Latin, even at the elementary level. Professor Whatmough, for example, appropriately brings Russian into his paper on the aspects of the Latin verb.<sup>2</sup> What I should like to urge here is that we have French sufficiently in mind as we teach Latin. Let us by all means use as much as we can of the historical approach that goes from proto-Indo-European through Old Latin to Classical Latin. But let us continue this from Classical Latin through Vulgar Latin<sup>3</sup> to Old French. From this point there are two courses open. To increase our output of that useful by-product of Latin study, knowledge of the Latin element in English, we shall naturally proceed to Middle and Modern English. On the other hand, the development from Old to Modern French should also be traced—an especially interesting task for anyone with Latin and French as a teaching combination, but quite feasible for other teachers of Latin as well.

Many of the details of Old French grammar are highly involved, but certain general principles in the evolution of Latin into Old French are relatively straight-

forward and simple. I would like to take up a few sound changes (with particular emphasis on one such change), because it seems to me that some information on this subject is due the pupil. Too often he finds in his text, whether it is a Latin schoolbook or a book for college students on the Greek and Latin elements in English, the mere statement that a certain English word looks quite different from its Latin etymon because it has passed through Old French. And yet the changes in sound which have caused the altered appearance are not explained. Thus while everybody knows that the percentage of French words in Modern English is extremely high, in the case of many of these words it is hard to see just how they can be derived from Latin. The difficulty often lies in the phonological phenomenon which is the burden of the present article. Many of my examples will also illustrate two other linguistic phenomena which I feel the student should be introduced to early; semantic change and the development of doublets (two forms from the same original, the one often being earlier and more "popular" and the other a later "learned" borrowing).

The change of *-p-* to *-b-*, *-t-* to *-d-*, and *-c-* to *-g-* (technically referred to as the voicing of intervocalic voiceless stops) began in the Vulgar Latin period. Whether the teacher cares to use the technical phrase or not, the underlying principle, it seems to me, is within the grasp of the average student. Once it has been explained, the sequel should be given—in very general terms—as we find it in French: *-b-* to *-v-*, *-d-* to voiced

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations and Bibliography. L.=Latin; C. L.=Classical Latin; V. L.=Vulgar Latin; L. L.=Low Latin, i. e., "all those species of written Latin (Late Latin, Church Latin, Law Latin) which reflect the decline of the Classical tradition and the influence of the vernacular" (Ewert); O. F.=Old French; M. F.=Modern French; O. E.=Old English; Mid. E.=Middle English; Mod. E.=Modern English; *-p-*, etc.=*p*, etc. between vowels; *-m*, etc.=final *m*, etc.; *-p'r-*, etc.=a secondary consonant group (an unstressed vowel has been weakened and lost).

The following books either describe O. F. itself or give the history of many Mod. E. and M. F. words from the L. and O. F. periods. The surnames and numbers in the text refer to the pages of certain of these items:

- (1) E. E. Burris and L. Casson, *Latin and Greek in Current Use* (2d ed.; New York 1949). While not taking up O. F. phonology, this cites the passage of many words through O. F. and does a good deal with semantic change and doublets.
- (2) E. L. Johnson, *Latin Words of Common English* (Boston 1931). Though, like (1), a popular work on etymology, this goes somewhat into O. F. phonology; see Chap. IV: "French-English Forms of Latin Derivatives."
- (3) H. Bradley, chapter on "Language" in C. Bailey (ed.), *Legacy of Rome* (Oxford 1923). An admirable brief account of the evolution of the Romance languages from V. L. The history of the English contact with Latin is summarized at the end.
- (4) C. H. Grandgent, *Introduction to Vulgar Latin* (Boston 1907). Though out of date on certain points, still a very helpful little book.
- (5) O. Bloch and W. von Wartburg, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française* (Paris 1950). Perhaps the most useful part of this is the listing in a page and a half (pp. xxiv-xxv) of the "Principales correspondences du latin et du français."

(6) J. Anglade, *Grammaire élémentaire de l'ancien français* (4th ed.; Paris 1930). Often reprinted. A clear elementary treatise including syntax.

(7) E. Schwan and D. Behrens, *Grammaire de l'ancien français* (4th ed. of the French translation by O. Bloch; Leipzig 1932; 12th German ed., *ibid.*, 1925). The old stand-by, omitting syntax but including an anthology of dialectal texts.

(8) M. K. Pope, *From Latin to Modern French with Especial Consideration of Anglo-Norman: Phonology and Morphology* (Manchester Univ. Press 1934; corrected reprint 1952). Probably the most technical of all the items listed here. The evolution of the language from V. L. to the 17th century. Very useful for our purposes because of the attention given to Anglo-Norman.

(9) A. Ewert, *The French Language* (2d ed.; London 1943). Complementary to (8) "in that it includes the modern period and treats of vocabulary and syntax as well as pronunciation and flexion" (Miss Pope).

<sup>2</sup> J. Whatmough, "On Improving the Shining Hour," *CJ* 45 (1950) 355-359. Cf. also C. E. Finch, "Latin and Russian as a Teaching Combination," *ibid.* 43 (1947) 23-26, though this makes no mention of aspect, and R. O. Fink, "Infinitives Don't Have Tense," *ibid.* 48 (1952) 34-36, which explains that infinitives do have aspect, however. Other linguistic articles include J. F. Gummere, "Telling the Truth in Textbooks," *CW* 44 (1950) 17-19; J. Whatmough, "Grammatica Quaedam," *Phoenix* 2 (1948) 65-72, and "On Gerund Grinding," *CW* 43 (1949) 19-22.

<sup>3</sup> I keep the time-honored term, but for the difficulties involved in defining it see E. Pulgram, "Spoken and Written Latin," *Language* 26 (1950) 458-466.

th (as in Mod. E. *then*) to nil, -g- to -i(y)- (and under certain conditions to nil). Mention of the whole process can be the starting-point for providing a class with all sorts of spectacular etymologies, as this paper will try to show. (The treatment of -pr-, -tr-, -cr- is included.)

With the change of -p- to -b- to -v- we can easily make the connection between *arrive* and L. *ripa*. In Old French, *rive* (properly from *ripam*, since French nouns and adjectives come in general from the accusative<sup>4</sup>) meant 'sea-coast' as well as 'river-bank,' just as *ripa* already stands for *litus* in Horace. So our *arrive* and M. F. *arriver* (O. F. *ariver*) are from a hypothetical *adripare* or *arripare* and show an interesting generalization of meaning from 'come to shore' to 'reach.' *Riviera*, taken over into English from Italian and ultimately going back to L. *riparia*, refers especially to the Gulf of Genoa, whereas Mod. E. *river* and M. F. *rivière* reflect the original meaning of *ripa*.

In regard to *rive* from *ripam*, we should note the weak pronunciation of -m in Vulgar Latin (see note 4; the student who has read some Latin verse will naturally compare the elision of vowel plus m) and the loss in Old French of vowels in the ultima of words stressed on the penult (except that a yields "mute" or "feminine" e). The loss of -u(m), -e(m), etc., but not of -a(m), will show the difference between *art*, *fragment* and *fame*, *nature* (but see Johnson 195 for some exceptions here); the loss of -e will account for the French infinitives of the types *donner* (from *donare*), *avoir* (from *habere*; note the change of -b- to -v-), and *finir* (from *finire*).

The following two English items (with O. F. -v- from L. -p-) are worthy of note. *Sovereign* goes back to L. *superanum* through O. F. *soverain* (the g was inserted because of false association with *regnum*). In the case of *pavilion* (from L. *papilionem*) "there is a fancied resemblance . . . between the flapping sides of a tent and the motion of a butterfly's wings" (Burriss and Casson 36); as early as Tertullian's time *papilio* had acquired the secondary meaning of 'tent.' Both meanings are found in O. F. *pav(e)illon*, though that of 'butterfly' is rare and soon came to be reserved for the learned borrowing *papillon*; in some dialects, however, *pavillon* still means 'butterfly.'

The p of -pr- and -p'r- also yielded v in Old French, and there are several Modern English representatives which serve admirably for discussing doublets. *Recover*, for example, is from O. F. *recover* (from V. L. *recup'rare*); *recuperate* (for the suffix -ate see the paragraph on -t-, *infra*) is a later borrowing straight from Latin—hence showing p instead of v. Similarly, the

second p of Mod. E. *pauper* is to be contrasted with the v of *poverty* (O. F. *povreté*, M. F. *pauvreté*) and O. F. *povre*; the Mod. E. *poor* (Mid. E. *po(u)re*) is due to an extension to Anglo-Norman of the Middle English tendency to vocalize v before a consonant. *Separate*, not entering English through Old French, has the p of C. L. *separare* as well as the a immediately following, which the teacher always hopes will fix the orthography of the English word in the pupil's mind. But, alas, *seperare* existed in Vulgar Latin; and from this, or rather *sep'rare*, come O. F. *sevrer* (note the specialization of meaning to 'wean' in Modern French<sup>5</sup>) and Mod. E. *sever*.

The loss of -t- suggests a number of English doublets, such as *round* (from O. F. *rond-*, *rund-*, etc.) vs. *rotund* and *naive* (M. F. *naïf* m., -ive f.) vs. *native* (M. F. *natif* m., -ive f.). It also accounts for the many words in -ee or -y from the perfect passive participle feminine—not necessarily perfect or passive at the start—of Latin first-conjugation verbs: stressed a in an open syllable yielded e; the unstressed a became "mute" e, as we have noted. So the M. F. participle *aimée* is the same thing as our proper name *Amy*, the lineal descendent of Vergil's *Amata*. *Jury* has had a curious history: borrowed from O. F. *jurée* 'oath', 'judicial investigation,' it acquired a new sense in England and then was taken back by the French with its English form and meaning. In Vulgar Latin the feminine participial suffix, especially the -ata type, was used to make a number of nouns from verbs—for example, *armata* 'armed force,' the source not only of Mod. E. *army* through French *armée* but also of *armada*, borrowed from Spanish. Eventually, it served to make nouns from other nouns. "Thus in Italy and Gaul, where *diurnum* (Italian *giorno*, French *jour*) came to be the usual word for 'day,' there was formed a derivative *diurnata* (Italian *giornata*, French *journée*), meaning 'a day's work'" (Bradley 366). A *journey* therefore was originally the distance that could be traveled in one day—estimated at twenty miles in the Middle Ages. The suffix -ee, which may also be of masculine origin (M. F. -é as well as -ée), is very important for Modern English. It began with a passive idea, as in the legal term *appellee* vs. *appellant*. But it has been greatly extended, used for derivatives from Latin verbs of other conjugations than the first, and applied to non-Latin verbs either transitive or intransitive and other part of speech. It is rampant at the present day; and anybody can compile a list of examples, some quite common, others rarer—for instance, *awardee*, *quizee*, *standee*, *tutee*.

As -p- and the p of -pr- have the same evolution, so do -t- and the t of -tr-. The t is lost through the stages

<sup>4</sup> With the effacement of the m of *ripam* it is of course immaterial whether we take *rive* back to the acc. *ripam* or to nom. *ripa*, but the acc. seems preferable since it has to be used for the derivation of M. F. *mur*, *pavillon*, etc.

<sup>5</sup> For the details see A. Ernout, "Allaiter et 'sevrer,'" *Philologica* (Paris 1946) 59-65.

of *d* and voiced *th*. Thus *L. nutrire* has given *O. F. norir, nurir*, *M. F. nourrir*. Some of the other details connected with a French verb of this type are complicated. But one might simply point out to a class that the *-sh* of the English derivative *nourish* (as the *-ss* of *M. F. nourissant*, etc.) goes back in the last analysis to the Latin ingressive or progressive infix *-sc-*, which "eventually entered into the formation of the present stem of fourth conjugation verbs" (Grandgent 174).<sup>6</sup> Again then we have several doubtsets in Modern English, the later form showing the *-tr-* of the original Latin: *nourishing* vs. *nutritious* and even *nutrient, nourishment* vs. *nutriment*, etc.

Two words with the ending *-ee*, *employee* and *payee*, also illustrate the change of *-c-* to *-g-* to *-i(y)-*. *L. implicare* in its post-classical sense of 'bend' or 'direct upon something' gives *O. F. emplier* and *Mod. E. employ* (cf. *M. F. employer*); its classical meaning is preserved in the doublet of *employ, implicate*. *Imply* is also from *emplier* but with later substitution of the Latin form of the prefix. Compounds of *L. plicare* account for many English verbs in *-ply*; so *apply* is ultimately from *applicare* and *reply* from *replicare*. *Mod. E. pay* (*M. F. payer*) from *pacare* shows the specialization of meaning from *C. L. 'pacify'* to *L. 'pacify a creditor'*. All the points involved in such derivations as *M. F. feu* from *focum* and *M. F. lieu* from *locum* are doubtless too much for the young student. But the teacher might well find it worth while to mention how similar *lieutenant* and *locum tenens* are in origin, point out the replacement of *ignis* by *focum* in Vulgar Latin and the etymology of *Mod. E. curfew* (*M. F. couvre-feu*), and trace *jewel* back to *iocale* (at first a 'plaything' therefore) and the adjective *iocalis*, *-e* back to the noun *iocus*.

The usual development of *c* in *-cr-* was also to *-i-*, but the retarded development just to *g* is more interesting for the English derivatives. *Acrid* is a late formation from *L. acr-* with *-id* on the analogy of *acid*, whereas *eager* comes from *L. acrem* through *O. F. aigre*. The same *aigre* occurs in *Mod. E. vinegar* and *M. F. vinaigre*; in the Old French period *vinaigre* had already ousted an earlier word representing the *C. L. acetum* 'vinegar'. *L. macrum* became *O. F. megre, maigre* (*M. F. maigre*), which has given *Mod. E. meager*.

So far we have worked from sound changes to semantics. Let us conclude by working from a group of semantically related words, the successors of *L. uia*,<sup>7</sup> back to phonology. *M. F. rue*, curiously enough, is from *L. rugam* 'wrinkle,' 'crease,' which "came to be used

metaphorically in *V. L.* in the sense of 'road,' but was early restricted to 'street'; *-g-*, like *-c-*, disappears in the neighborhood of *o* or *u*. The old Roman road was a *uia strata* (*lapide*). The *strata* here in its accusative form and with prothetic *e* became *O. F. estrée*, just as *amatam* has turned into *M. F. aimée*. On the other hand, since the Roman road in England antedates the Norman Conquest, *Mod. E. street* (from *O. E. strat*) and place names like *Stratford* show the same *-t-* that we find in the learned borrowing *stratum*. The *uia strata*, "which disappeared in Gaul with the destruction of the Roman roads," was ultimately followed by the *uia rupta*, the source of *M. F.* and *Mod. E. route*—*p* is lost from the group *pt-*, "originally a road driven through wooded country." In English etymology many roads lead to Rome, but they often pass through France.

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## REVIEWS

**Sparta.** By H. MICHELL. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1952. Pp. ix, 348. \$7.00.

"Vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher, . . . there is no new thing under the sun." The student of Michell's *Sparta*, peering through the veil of time and the mist of probabilities which have been painstakingly yet tenuously formulated on the evidence available, has a strange feeling of familiarity with the ideas and events which he glimpses. Land reform, secret police, expulsion of foreigners, the subordination of the individual to the state, military regimentation—all these things and others, too, are to be found in microcosmic form in the vale of the Eurotas. (The reader will find himself recalling the comparison between Sparta and Russia made by Professor L. R. Shero in his presidential address to the American Philological Association in 1950.) Has any generation of men yet failed to conclude that never before have such problems confronted mankind?

A list of the chapter headings serves as a reliable guide to the contents of this work: I: Introduction; II: The Spartans; III: *Perioeci*, Helots, Inferiors; IV: The Spartan Constitution (I): Tribes, Kings and Ephors; V: The Spartan Constitution (II): The Senate and the General Assembly; Civil Service and Judiciary; VI: The Spartan Discipline; VII: The Spartan System of Land Tenure; VIII: Spartan Military and Naval Organisation; IX: The Public Meals; X: Money and Public Finance; XI: Agis—Cleomenes—Nabis; a Select Bibliography (three and one-half pages); and an Index (six pages). The chapters are conveniently provided with section titles, e.g. "Chapter VI: The Spartan

<sup>6</sup> Grandgent actually says *-isco* here. For the argument that the first step was a blending of *-escere* and *-ire* types see T. H. Maurer, Jr., "The Romance Conjugation in *-isco* (*-isco*) *-ire*," *Language* 27 (1951) 136-145.

<sup>7</sup> They are all to be found in Ewert 328, from which all my quotations in this last paragraph come.

Discipline: Age Groups, Musical and Athletic Contests, Flogging at the Altar of Artemis Orthia, Stealing by Boys, Formal Education, Music, Dancing, Fights and Games, Athletic Contests in Roman Times, The Darker Side [i.e. paederasty], Training of the Girls, The Philosophers on Spartan Education."

Mr. Michell's book is a very orderly, readable, scholarly account of what is known, primarily through literary sources, about Sparta. The work is not a chronological history but rather a topical analysis of Spartan social, political, military, and economic institutions. One regrets that archaeological research, particularly epigraphical studies (cf. K. M. T. Chrimes, *Ancient Sparta* [Manchester 1949; rev. CW 45 (1951/52) 122-123], a work which appeared probably after Michell's MS was completed), does not shed more direct light on our knowledge of Sparta of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

Were it not for the essays of Plutarch and Xenophon and the occasional remarks of Herodotus and Thucydides, our knowledge would be negligible. Not until one meets Lycurgus in the next world will one know whether he existed, or what exactly were the provisions of his legislation. Meanwhile let the reader thread his way through the maze with Mr. Michell as guide, noting that even such a renowned name as Arnold Toynbee's is taken to task some half dozen times for venturesome conjectures contained in an article on "The Growth of Sparta" written in 1913!

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**Die Tragische Orchestik im Zerrbild der Altattischen Komödie.** By ERVIN ROOS. Lund: Gleerup, 1951. Pp. 302. Sw. Kr. 20.

The significance of the *exodus* of the *Wasps* of Aristophanes has long been disputed by scholars. The traditional interpretation, going back at least to Bentley (and held by Starkie and Rogers) took Philocleon as coming out to dance the old tragic dances of Thespis and Phrynichus, and challenging the modern tragedians to a contest in which he would show them to be really "old dotards." This he does, dancing against the sons of Carcinus, as the representatives of modern tragic dancing. While there have been many recent variations of this interpretation, the *exodus* has never been subjected to a very careful and thorough examination and interpretation. This has now been accomplished by Roos, who develops a totally new conception of the meaning of the *exodus*. He approaches the problem especially from the point of view of the dances which occur in it. He examines (pp. 21-106) with great care the actual nature of the dances performed by Philocleon, as indicated in lines 1485, 1487-89, 1490, 1492, 1494-95, as well

as the dances performed in the latter part of the *exodus*. Using a great mass of linguistic, archaeological, and historical evidence, Roos concludes in general that Philocleon actually dances hetaera dances and, in particular, he identifies (following Meineke) the *lugisma* (1487) danced by Philocleon with the *igdisma*. All the evidence from all the sources (and it is documented in profusion) seems to show that Roos' conclusion is correct. Roos believes that Aristophanes has Philocleon dance hetaera dances with the purpose of demonstrating the degradation of modern tragic dancing.

Following this positive approach, Roos examines (pp. 107-200) critically each of the previous major interpretations of Philocleon's dances and the *exodus*: that Philocleon dances or parodies the old tragic dances of Thespis and Phrynichus, that he parodies contemporary tragic dancing, that he performs either the Cordax or the Sicinnis, or that he parodies the *Cyclops* of Euripides. The evidence for each of these views is investigated with great thoroughness, and each, on various grounds, is found to be improbable. As to the first and strongest of these interpretations, Roos urges that the reference to Thespis (1479) is due merely to the ignorance of Xanthias, and that the Phrynichus referred to is the contemporary tragic dancer, not the ancient tragedian. This solution is possible, but not completely satisfying, since the evidence is far from conclusive.

In an important excursus, Roos discusses the old and difficult question of the nature of the famous hyporcheme of Pratinas. In recent years, the view that Pratinas' hyporcheme is not an independent ode but from a satyr-play has been gaining ground, although there have been recent protests against this view. Roos also considers it a fragment of a satyr-play, written in parody of the dithyrambic style of the school of Lasus of Hermione. In his view, the ode was sung by a chorus of satyrs holding and playing citharae (this point was apparently suggested by some evidence from vase-paintings, whose pertinence, however, to Pratinas and the hyporcheme can hardly be surely established), and attacking contemporary flute-music. The hyporcheme was written by Pratinas to reflect the rivalry in early Athens between the Apolline cithara and the Dionysian flute, and to encourage, by treating satirically the early Athenian hostility to flute-music, acceptance of the flute in dramatic performances. Roos believes that the hyporcheme does not reflect the view of Pratinas himself at all, and he rejects the view that it is a protest against the encroachment of flute-playing upon the words and poetry of the drama, contrary to the interpretation of Athenaeus (14.617 ff.). Thus, Roos' interpretation of the hyporcheme strikes out on new ground. But while his argument is ingenious and very interesting, it is too largely hypothetical, and cannot, I think, be taken as established. There is little direct and cogent evidence for what is new in his interpretation.

Whether or not Roos has succeeded in solving finally the two large problems with which he has dealt, his book is of great value. It reveals great learning and an extremely wide command of the literature. The documentation throughout is superb, the bibliography very extensive (containing, however, a good many items rather unnecessarily), and his use of archaeological evidence in the study of dances especially valuable in the investigation of this aspect of ancient drama.

HAROLD W. MILLER

BUCKNELL UNIVERSITY

**Thucydide et l'impérialisme athénien.** By JACQUELINE DE ROMILLY. ("Collection d'études anciennes.") 2d ed.; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1951. Pp. 326. Frs. 900.

Four years after the appearance of her *Thucydide et l'impérialisme athénien*, Mme. de Romilly has been able to publish a second and unchanged edition. This is a good sign of the continued interest in Thucydides and of the deserved appreciation of a book which may be considered the French counterpart to the recent publications of German and Anglo-Saxon Thucydides research by Finley, Gomme, Grundy, Schmid, and Regenbogen. This is a typically French book, lucid in organization, style, and thought. It has the virtues of a book more solid than brilliant; it does not offer any new striking hypotheses, but—what makes it very useful to any student of Thucydides—a clear presentation of what we can reasonably know about Thucydides' work and thought. Centering upon Athenian imperialism as Thucydides' major theme, the author gives a thorough analysis especially of the great speeches of the Athenian politicians which convey the core of Thucydides' political experience and philosophy. With the majority of scholars she rejects the hypotheses of E. Schwartz, but, at variance with the strict "unitarians," she distinguishes between the bulk of the *History* written during the war and the later additions and reconsiderations. This applies to such key passages dealing with the issue of imperialism as the *Pentekontakteia*, the Melian Dialogue, the speech of the Athenians in Sparta, the Funeral Oration, and Pericles' last speech, in all of which the impact of the final catastrophe is demonstrated. However, Mme. de Romilly sees no basic change in Thucydides' attitude after 404; the outcome was no surprise to his clear and stern mind, but rather a confirmation of his previous judgment about Periclean imperialism as both necessary and moderate and about the unavoidable consequences of the change from Periclean democracy to the emotional demagoguery of Pericles' successors. The disappearance of the Athenian empire completed Thucydides' grand vision of the *idea* of imperialism, in line with his natural tendency to see, behind the maze of the particulars, the general issues and laws.

F. M. WASSERMANN

KANSAS WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

**St. Mark's Gospel: A New Translation from the Greek.** By E. V. RIEU. London: Allen and Unwin, 1951. Pp. 66.

This translation of the Gospel according to Mark was prepared by a scholar who has had considerable experience in arousing and fulfilling popular demand for the ancient classics. Academic and literary adviser to Methuen & Co. since 1936, and editor of the Penguin Classics since 1945, Dr. Rieu has himself edited and published several translations of Greek and Latin classics.

As to printing and format, the present volume tends toward a modest kind of elegance. Besides decorations printed from wood cuts, the end-papers reproduce facsimile passages of the uncial text of the fourth century Codex Sinaiticus of the New Testament. The style of the translation displays a dignified simplicity. Except for prayers (which retain the archaic forms of the second person singular), Rieu generally employs standard, present-day English. Samples include: *grammateis*, traditionally rendered "scribes," becomes "Doctors of the Law"; the Decapolis is "The Ten Cities"; *aióniou hamartēmatos* (3:30) is "a sin that outlasts time"; *hē apatē tou ploutou* (4:19) is "the lure of riches"; *legei* (3:34) is not translated; *kai gar Galilaios ei* (14:70) becomes "For quite apart from other things, you are a Galilaean."

As would be expected, Rieu makes intelligent use of various typographical devices not otherwise in common use in Biblical translations. For example, he drops two parenthetical passages (7:3-4 and 19b) into footnotes, occasionally uses italics for emphasis, and indicates the break after 16:8 by three dots and a row of asterisks.

Among several questionable aspects of Rieu's translation perhaps the most serious is his failure to inform the reader which edition of the Greek text he has used. His rendering of *archē* in the opening verse as "The first word" is not above criticism (see Allen Wikgren, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 61 [1942] 11-20).

BRUCE M. METZGER

PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

**An Introduction to the Latin Hexameter.** By CHARLES GORDON COOPER. Melbourne: Macmillan, 1952. Pp. x, 70. 7s. 6d.

In this useful book Professor Cooper gives the metrical facts about the Latin hexameter and explains a theory of scansion based on a rigid but consistent system of syllable-division. Each line is regarded as a single whole and divided into syllables, and the final consonant of one word is attached by liaison to the initial vowel of the word that follows. It is therefore possible to say that "all closed syllables are long" (p. 14). This is the theory of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who said that a syllable ending with a consonant is long.

But this was not the only theory accepted by the ancients; Dionysius Thrax and Hephaestion said that a syllable is long when a vowel is followed by two consonants. (When the second consonant within a single word is a liquid, the syllable may be long or short.) This second theory is explained in Hardie's *Res Metrica* and has generally been used in textbooks on verse composition. Those who are accustomed to it will probably find it easier to teach than the other theory.

Sometimes a short syllable on which the ictus falls is regarded as long by a metrical license, e.g. *et direpta domus*, et (*Aen.* 2.563). Since such a line will not scan, Professor Cooper suggests that the final *s* of *domus* should be doubled, so that the last syllable becomes long, i.e. *domūs-s* (p. 51). He also writes the double consonant *x* as *c-s* and *hoc* as *hoc-c*. Though these proposals are logical in this system of syllable-division, it is possible that they will be confusing to beginners. The system also requires that the lines marking a caesura-pause should sometimes be drawn before the last consonant of a word, e.g. *rabie||s et* (*Aen.* 8.327). But a student might find it hard to understand how it is possible to pause before the end of a word has been reached.

The book contains a lively and interesting discussion of the caesura; Professor Cooper thinks that "diaeresis disrupts verse" and "caesura binds verse together," and that the caesura in the third foot is not so much a break as a bond (p. 21).

J. F. C. RICHARDS

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

**The Nature of Roman Comedy: A Study in Popular Entertainment.** By GEORGE E. DUCKWORTH. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1952. Pp. xv, 501; 8 plates. \$7.50.

This book is a welcome and much needed addition to the literature on comedy; for despite innumerable special articles and books on various aspects of the subject, it is a surprising fact, as Professor Duckworth notes, that "no full and adequate work on the nature of Roman comedy has ever appeared in English." The scope and aims of the work are clearly set forth in the author's Preface pp. vi-vii: "This book is not written for the specialist in Roman comedy; it is directed primarily to classical students, to those who are interested in classical literature in a more general way, and to all readers of ancient and modern comedy. I have endeavored to include . . . the background and history of Roman comedy, the staging and presentation of the plays, the nature of the comedies (with attention to stage conventions, the structure of the plots, the moral tone of the plays, the humor in situation, character, and language), the difficult problem of the originality of Plautus and Terence and their relation to the Greek originals, and finally some consideration of their extensive influence on later comedy."

The first four chapters present a clear and satisfactory treatment of general matters: (1) Early Italian Popular Comedy, with some consideration of its influence on literary comedy; (2) Greek Comedy, with especial attention to New Comedy; (3) The Golden Age of Drama at Rome, a survey of the principal figures from Livius Andronicus to the writers of *togatae* and literary *Atellanae*; and (4) Presentation and Staging, an excellent summary of the available evidence on "dramatic antiquities." In these chapters information from external sources is carefully combined with evidence from the plays themselves. Conclusions on such controversial points as the use of masks, doubling of roles, etc., though tentative and undogmatic, are based on all the evidence and the reader will feel that he has been given plenty of material with which to study the subject and decide for himself. (Incidentally, I have already had to change my presentation to classes of the traditional doctrine of the *angiportum* after reading the fourth chapter.)

The next ten chapters deal with the extant comedies themselves, which provide ample material for the discussion of such topics as Stage Conventions, Methods of Composition, Characters, Thought, Language and Style, Meter and Song. Throughout these chapters the author has collected and quoted a host of relevant passages from both playwrights to illustrate similarities and differences in their treatment of their comic material. A final chapter gives a necessarily brief summary of the influence of Roman Comedy on later European drama, with most of the space naturally allotted to English Comedy. The work is completed with an Appendix on the manuscript tradition and important editions; a rather lengthy bibliography, which does not seem to me nearly selective enough for that general reader mentioned in the Preface; and, finally, there is an unusually full index, which should add greatly to the usefulness of the work.

Space does not permit a detailed report on the contents of the book. In general, one may remark that Professor Duckworth is conservative and reasonably sceptical in dealing with the many hypotheses and broad generalizations advanced by his predecessors; e.g., the discussion of the question of "contamination" (pp. 202-208) is an admirably lucid and reasonable treatment of this thorny problem. The book has not been written primarily to uphold a special thesis or to prove any startling and novel points, and is therefore free from the sort of bias which often results from such attempts. Still, Mr. Duckworth has opinions of his own, which he states quite candidly and supports strongly; several convincing conclusions emerge clearly and naturally from his treatment of the material. A few of the most interesting may be briefly noted: first, the assumption that the Roman poets adapted and debased in their copying infinitely superior, flawless Greek models must be abandoned—i.e., whenever a flaw or inconsistency appears in a Plautine plot, it will not do to blame it entirely on

"contamination" and careless adaptation by the Roman writer. Secondly, the dramatic superiority of Terence over Plautus has been much exaggerated by most critics, especially Norwood and other advocates of "the well-made play." As Duckworth shows, many of the alleged weaknesses and flaws in Plautus can also be found in Terence, and can often be explained as part of the conventions of the ancient comic form. Further, the plays of Plautus were written solely with the demands of stage-presentation in mind and were never meant to be studied and analyzed by scholars and critics trained in the "higher criticism." As popular entertainment, the plays of Plautus are virtually unequalled in comic literature for rapid farce, robust humor, song and dance, amusing plots and characters, and vigor of language. On the other hand, the high seriousness of Terence has also been over-stated; his last three plays show a growing concern for more effective humor, and a use of comic scenes and characters more akin to those of Plautus. Finally, one can no longer deny considerable originality to both Roman playwrights, although some of the recent extravagant claims for Terence's originality cannot stand. The differences between the two playwrights are too great to be explained solely by the nature of the Greek originals which each chose to adapt; rather, they developed from the same type of model, but in widely divergent directions, each in accordance with his own conception of comic drama. "In the creation and development of these two divergent trends reside the true significance and originality of Roman comedy" (p. 395).

To conclude, the work as a whole forms an invaluable storehouse of material and critical evaluation on every aspect of Roman comedy. Professor Duckworth sums up his own achievement at the end of an excellent chapter of recapitulation: "In order to clarify our conception of Roman comedy and enable us to accept or reject the numerous theories now in circulation, I have . . . attempted to place side by side the chief features of the two dramatists and to point out the similarities and differences in their plays; in other words, I have tried to compare the known with the known. This is in essence the procedure suggested by Prescott . . . when he said: 'Twenty-six plays constitute a considerable mass of material. Should it not be possible, disregarding all theories, to analyze these plays, placing side by side like features, discriminating the unlike, and thereby ultimately obtaining a helpful synthesis which might lead to sounder constructive interpretation?' It is my sincere hope that this study has provided such a helpful synthesis." The present reviewer can only express his firm conviction that Professor Duckworth has succeeded far beyond his modest hope; there is little doubt that this book will remain the standard English work on the subject for many years to come.

CHARLES T. MURPHY

OBERLIN COLLEGE

### The Political Theory of the Old and Middle Stoa.

By MARGARET E. REESOR. (Diss. Bryn Mawr.) New York: J. J. Augustin. 1951. Pp. x, 60. No price stated.

The old Stoa emphasized the natural kinship of the wise; by equating the sage's virtue with God's it may have influenced king-worship. Dr. Reesor distinguishes three Middle Stoic theories of social development: (1) through the instinct for self-preservation and a sense of duty (Cic. *Off.* 1 and 2; historical example: Cato the Younger's provincial administration); (2) through experience and necessity (Sen. *Ep.* 90); (3) through "natural affection" (Cic. *Off.* 3; *Fin.* 3; *Leg.* 1) which leads to the universal state, based on the natural *imperium* of strong over weak (Cic. *Rep.*), and implying the primacy of state over individual. Sphaerus' and Blossius' socialism was atypical.

Dr. Reesor's footnotes teem with useful citations of ancient evidence and valuable modern bibliography. Her conclusions show the caution appropriate to a dissertation. But in refusing to adopt a *parti pris* she may be false to her subject. Zeno's sage "could be converted into the sphere of real politics only as an enlightened despot like Antigonus Gonatas" (Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* 341). After Chrysippus the Stoa becomes "the creed of uncompromising republicanism" (*ibid.* 261), which, translated to Rome, expresses itself through an *amicitia* not so much "naturally affectionate" as politically expedient, leading to the establishment of Syme's equation (*The Roman Revolution*, [Oxford 1939]), "the constitution is the governing class." Pohlenz' *Antikes Führertum: Cicero de officiis und das Lebensideal des Panaitios* (Leipzig 1934), a Nazi book, is, with all its bias, perhaps closer to the truth about the political uses to which Stoicism was put than is Dr. Reesor's scholarly neutrality. If this is true, to describe the Stoicism that lay behind (did it?) Cleomenes III and Tiberius Gracchus as atypical is to put it mildly. But Cleomenes was a mere boy when Sphaerus taught him; perhaps his wife's influence was stronger (Walbank in *OCD*). His reforms were on the model of Solon and Lycurgus—hardly radical socialists—and done, Plutarch says, in the name of the ancient discipline. Polybius' eulogy of him (5.39) as "hēgemonikos kai basilikos tēi physei" is hardly the praise of a reformer. As for Gracchus, he regarded himself as a conservative, and was surprised at the opposition of his own class. Perhaps L. Zancan is right (*Ager Publicus* [Padua 1935]) that his aim was not radical socialism at all, but the old conservative one of making property prerequisite to army service. By such arguments Sphaerus and Blossius may be brought back into the orthodox Stoic fold.

Perhaps a philosopher is not responsible for aberrations of his theory when politicians put it into practice. So long as the central tenet of aristocracy is *noblesse oblige*, the Stoic political ideal may be logically defen-

sible, but when absolute power corrupts absolutely totalitarianism is born. Those incapable of Dr. Reesor's objectivity may see in this a fundamental Stoic flaw.

PAUL MACKENDRICK

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

**Classical Influences on English Poetry.** By J. A. K. THOMSON. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1951. Pp. 271. \$3.50.

Professor Thomson's *Classical Background of English Literature*, published in 1948, has become a staple for teachers of both classical and English literature, who assign it as extra reading to unreciprocating students. His new book, designed as the first of two supplements (the second will concern itself with prose), not only promises to be more useful, but is more a work of art. Although it was the expression of the long and perceptive experience of its author, *Background* suffers from the customary weaknesses of a resumé—the pat judgment, the distortion of the isolated generalization (notable in the section on medieval literature), and the dull grind of fact. Especially in its first chapter, it irritated some readers by a style implying an audience of precocious children rather than of uninformed adults. *Classical Influences* has none of these faults. Professor Thomson has reduced his problem to manageable proportions by treating in turn each form of classical poetry, from epic to epigram, and its counterparts in the works of characteristic English poets, with due accent on Milton. The result is an immediate and proper emphasis on the formality of the classics, and a centering upon the essential and formative works, which are amply enough described, even to repeating substantial portions of the first volume. Yet the author avoids exhausting or “covering” his subject. This is a wise choice, especially since he centers upon unified wholes and not upon the slight special allusions, which other critics have disproportionately stressed. Any choices, even the best, have their weaknesses, and his selectivity sometimes leads to distortion, especially when he once more chooses irony as the single poetic delight, if not the only value, of tragedy. Professor Thomson's style is deceptively simple and clear, at its best exemplifying classical restraint proper to the subject, and in its few weak spots becoming nothing worse than pedantry. An obvious bit of pedantry is the relegation of prose translations to an appendix. The number of readers who are not helped by a look at translations is negligible. Nevertheless, *Classical Influences* will be a unique and satisfying aid to countless intelligent readers who now choose or are forced by circumstances to read classical, and even English, authors by deputy. The silhouettes are sharply drawn, with proper observance of taste and form.

CHARLES W. JONES

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

## NOTES AND NEWS

This department deals with events of interest to classicists; the contribution of pertinent items is welcomed. Also welcome are items for the section of *Personalia*, which deals with appointments, promotions, fellowships, and other professionally significant activities of our colleagues in high schools, colleges, and universities.

The annual Spring Meeting of the **Classical Association of the Atlantic States** will be held at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel, Philadelphia, Friday and Saturday, April 17-18, 1953. The program will be announced in an early number of *CW*.

The United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa announce the offer of the **Mary Isabel Sibley Fellowship** awarded alternately in the fields of Greek and French and carrying a stipend of \$1500. The 1953 award will be in the field of Greek studies (language, literature, history, or archaeology). Candidates must be unmarried women under the age of 35 who have demonstrated ability to carry on original research. While the doctor's degree is not a requirement, only those doctoral candidates are eligible who have completed course or residence requirements and expect to devote full-time work to research. It is hoped that the results of the year of research will be made available in some form, though no pressure for publication will be put upon the recipient of the Fellowship. Requests for application forms and other communications should be addressed to the Mary Isabel Sibley Fellowship Committee, Phi Beta Kappa Hall, Williamsburg, Va., and applications must be filed before *March 15, 1953*.

The **Classical Association of New England** will hold its forty-seventh Annual Meeting at Deerfield Academy, Deerfield, Mass., on Friday and Saturday, March 20 and 21, 1953.

The following papers will be presented during the sessions: “Notes and Comments on the Michigan Workshop,” by Miss Clara W. Ashley of the Newtown, Mass., High School; “The Legend of the *Translatio St. Benedicti* and the Discovery of the Relics of St. Benedict in 1950,” by Prof. Herbert Bloch of Harvard University; “Cosa, a Roman Hill Town,” by Prof. Frank E. Brown of Yale University; “One Man's Greek,” by Dr. Alston H. Chase of Phillips Andover Academy; “Edward Hopkins, Seventeenth Century Benefactor of Education,” by Mr. Cecil T. Derry of Cambridge High and Latin School; “Neque Fas Ea Litteris Mandare,” by Mr. John B. Dicklow of Deerfield Academy; “Euripides' *Andromache*: an Appraisal,” by Prof. Van Johnson of Tufts College; “Greek and Latin in a Pragmatic Curriculum,” by Mr. James F. Looby of the *Hartford Courant*; “Aristophanes, Social Reformer,” by Rev. Patrick A. Sullivan, S.J., of Shadowbrook, Lenox, Mass.; “The Influence of Classics in the Italian Renaissance,” by Mr. Joseph S.

Van Why of Bowdoin College; "A City's Coinage: The Mint of Camarina," by Prof. Eunice Work of Wheaton College.

The annual dinner will take place on Friday evening, and for this occasion members are invited to be the guests of Deerfield Academy. Following the dinner there will be an address by Mr. R. G. C. Levens, Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, and Visiting Professor at Connecticut College; his subject will be "The Influence of Alexandria on European Literature."

Teachers and friends of the Classics are cordially invited to attend the open sessions of the Meeting. Further information may be secured from the Secretary of the Association, Prof. F. Stuart Crawford, Boston University, Boston 15, Mass.

The **Joint Committee of Greek and Roman Societies** (Secretary: Mrs. E. G. Turner, Bayston, Cross Oak Road, Berkhamsted, England) announces that the date of its triennial meeting, which would have taken place in August 1954 in Oxford, has been postponed to avoid conflict with other meetings of international importance occurring in 1954 (among them the Jubilee of the Classical Association and the Copenhagen meeting of the International Federation of Classical Societies),

and has now been provisionally fixed for August 4-11, 1955, in Oxford.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

BOWRA, C. M. *John Dewar Denniston 1887-1949*. (Reprinted from "Proceedings of the British Academy," Vol. 35.) London: Cumberlege, 1952. Pp. 219-232; frontispiece. 2s. 6d. (\$0.85).

HUSIK, ISAAC. *Philosophical Essays: Ancient, Mediaeval & Modern*. Edited by MILTON C. NAHM and LEO STRAUSS. Oxford: Blackwell, 1952. Pp. xlii, 358. \$6.75.

PLAUT, I. *Les sons du grec ancien et leurs modifications avec indication de la prononciation attique au Ve siècle av. J.C.: Initiation à la phonétique pour les étudiants de licence et les élèves du secondaire*. Sainte Pience (Manche): Privately Printed, 1952. Pp. 16. Frs. 120.

SULLIVAN, SISTER ANNE STANISLAUS, S.S.J. (ed.). *Selections from Ecclesiastical Latin*. Philadelphia, Pa.: Chestnut Hill College, 1952. Pp. iii, 93. \$2.00. (Discount to schools and libraries.)

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## **ANCIENT HISTORY**

by Charles A. Robinson, Jr.,  
Professor of Classics, Brown University

*A review from the Belgian Quarterly, Les Etudes Classiques, vol. xx, April-July 1952, by J. Delande*

"It required an unusual competence in the vast field of ancient history to undertake the period from prehistoric times to the death of Justinian. Mr. Robinson's project was unusually daring, as it is almost impossible to treat with equal understanding and mastery civilizations as different as those of the Semites, the Greeks, the Egyptians, the Iranians, the Italians, the Spaniards, the Gauls and the Germans. But this book has the advantage of presenting in its complexity a real history where the ethnographic, political and economic interests and problems are 'inextricably mixed.' One does not effect in a volume of this sort the detailed discussions of events that one finds here. I believe the synthesis and bringing together of the facts are convincing and genuine . . . The book is well worth reading, for example the chapter on the end of the Roman Republic, to appreciate the fine judgment of this professor of Brown University. He has definitely abandoned the theories of Mommsen, whose views are still too often found expressed in works . . . His views are more sensible and sound and are nearer those of M. Gelzer, R. Syme, L. R. Taylor, D. Magie . . . The many maps and photographs make it possible to get a good idea of the great events and moments in ancient history. The volume is as great a service to students in the university as to the general public who want a sound understanding of ancient history."

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